

CEYLON MINISTER BLAMES CIA

By Our Colombo Correspondent
The American Central Intelligence Agency was accused yesterday of being behind the attempt to overthrow Mrs. Bandaranaike's United Front Government in Ceylon in April last year.

The accusation was made by Dr. N. Perera, the Trotskyite Finance Minister. America was among the countries that came to Ceylon's help during the revolt.

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MIG-17s Off Tip of India

The rebellion in Ceylon is turning out to be an embarrassment for the Communist world. Like a glaring floodlight it is exposing the disunity and duplicity among Communist countries and parties.

In that glare the Soviet Union shows up as the one giant in that Communist world, expanding now into the Indian Ocean, flying MIGs just a few miles off the tip of India.

When Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike won Ceylon's election last year, she proclaimed her left wing government a member of the world brotherhood of Red countries. Her government promptly extended diplomatic recognition to North Korea, North Vietnam and the Viet Cong.

She threw out United States Peace Corpsmen. She reviled America, imperialism, old colonial powers such as Great Britain, the West.

When the guerrilla "national liberation" uprising came, Mrs. Bandaranaike first suspected that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was behind this band of "Che Guevarists."

But then she had to squeal for help from the West she had been condemning. Great Britain sent army scout cars, ammunition and small arms. Via Britain the United States sent helicopters. India too sent helicopters and took up naval patrol duty offshore.

And the least revolution thirsty member among the Red ranks, the Soviet Union, signed up to send MIG-17 fighter planes, a MIG trainer plane and an air corps training group (not in uniform) to show Ceylonese aviators how to fly them, against a "people's revolt."

It is now fairly well established that the culprits were not the Americans or ex-colonialist British but some far, far left wingers. The finger of suspicion now points straight at North Korea, which is accused of sending Chinese arms to the guerrillas through Albania.

China is a major trading partner of Mrs. Bandaranaike's Ceylon. It would be awkward for China to side with the rebels. But to give help openly to the government of Ceylon would put China in a sort of loose allegiance with the Soviet Union and the U.S.-British bloc.

The Soviet Union has been moving into the Indian Ocean, asserting its intention to become the principal naval power there as well as a major naval power in the Mediter-

ranean, Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf.

This local struggle in Ceylon put in the Soviets' lap an opportunity to play a role in that sector—which once was an unquestioned preserve of Great Britain's. And the Russians aren't likely to pull out if Ceylon's civil war ends.

As the Economist of London says: "Russian military aid programs tend to be singularly open-ended. If this is not a foothold on the flank of the Indian Ocean, it is at least a toehold."

28 APR 1971

Ceylon's Student Revolt Was Years in the Planning

The author of the following dispatch left Ceylon on Saturday. He filed this article from Jakarta, Indonesia, because Ceylon censors news dispatches.

By JAMES P. STERBA

Special to The New York Times

COLOMBO, Ceylon, April 24 —Ultraleftist revolutionary students plunged Ceylon into a guerrilla war this month after years of careful organization and planning. While they were planning their attempt to seize power, Government leaders appear to have viewed the students as harmless idealists at best and as juvenile delinquents at worst.

The students' emergence as a cohesive movement named the Peoples Liberation Front began to develop as early as 1964, and their aims and methods have been subjects of both newspaper articles and police dossiers since then. But until very recently, most political leaders were too busy fighting among themselves to take much notice.

Signals on the Radio

When the nationwide attacks came April 5 the police, as Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike later admitted, were caught off guard, although they said that an explosion in what turned out to be a bomb factory in Colombo in March had given them an early lead to the conspiracy.

The attacks were carried out with precision. Code signals, for example, were carried in obituary notices over the Government radio station—a procedure that must have taken months if not years to develop. Further, the insurgents had collected lists of most people on the island who kept guns in

their homes, and many of these were seized.

There had been at least one earlier sign of the movement's close coordination. Last November, when Mahinda Wajeskara, a movement leader, was arrested, leaflets of protest were distributed throughout the island within several hours after his arrest, long before it had been announced over the radio or in the newspapers.

The movement was born after a riotous strike at the University of Ceylon in 1964, according to knowledgeable observers here. At that time the youth wings of the various Communist party factions split from their adult leaders, accusing them of being both corrupt and irrelevant to the needs of Ceylon's peasantry.

Departure From Ideology

The students argued that as their adult leaders assumed power and position, they departed from their ideology and became as corrupt as the "capitalist-imperialists" whom they were opposing. "Pure Socialism," they argued, had been continually compromised, and regardless of a welfare system that includes free education, health care, low-cost transportation and even free rice, the leadership was not in tune with the needs of the masses.

It was also argued that most of the adult Communist leaders—whether of the Trotskyite, Marxist-Leninist or Peking factions—were descendants of the rich and not of the peasants. This argument was an obvious attraction to many college students who were sons of peasants and who took advantage of free college education only to find that there were no jobs for them when they graduated. This year, for example, it is

estimated that 10,000 liberal arts graduates are jobless in Ceylon.

The movement began slowly with small meetings on campuses. Later the students moved their lectures into the countryside, where they found that villagers, often the victims of economic mismanagement by the Government, listened sympathetically.

The security branch of the national police began in late 1969 to issue warnings to Government officials about the movement and before the elections last May, Dudley S. Senanayake, the Prime Minister, had several student leaders apprehended.

But when Mrs. Bandaranaike's left-wing coalition was voted into power, she released the students because their movement had supported her coalition. She also dismissed, as security risks, the leaders of the police security branch which had been warning of the movement's potential threat. The new police leaders had to begin intelligence operations from the start.

According to a former member of the movement who is now a student outside Ceylon, the students supported Mrs. Bandaranaike because they thought she would be easier to topple from power than would a right-wing government. Their reasoning, the former member said, was that because they supported her, she would consider them to be under the wing of the Establishment and not take them very seriously. That apparently is what happened.

A Certain 'Foreign Power'

The movement seems to have begun actively planning its attempt to seize power last year, and it has been alleged that it had the support of leaders in Ceylon and aid from a certain "foreign power."

The Government at first accused the United States Central Intelligence Agency of involvement, and has not rescinded that accusation. Since then, however, it has expelled North Korean diplomats, who were indirectly accused of supplying both moral and material support to the plot.

In a speech last week, Mrs. Bandaranaike said that she had warned "one foreign embassy" that "the effect of certain activities carried on by them was giving strength and support to these terrorists" and that the embassy should "desist from these activities."

"As they did not do so in accordance with my request, I had to ask the ambassador to close the embassy and leave the country," she added. The North Koreans have been the only diplomats to leave recently.

They were accused of black-market money transactions, and military officials have said that some captured insurgents were carrying much more money and in much larger denominations than would be normal. The military officials have also reportedly found Korean literature and manuals among the insurgents.

However, the North Koreans arrived in Ceylon only last summer, after Mrs. Bandaranaike's election.

Surrender Day Decided

COLUMBO, April 27 (Reuters) — The Government today fixed Saturday as the day for insurgents to surrender and accept the Prime Minister's pledge of "reasonable" treatment.

The surrender arrangements were discussed by Mrs. Bandaranaike and her Cabinet today at an emergency meeting.

Insurgents will be urged to give up at police stations, revenue offices and court-houses or to any local judge between 9 A.M. and 4 P.M. on Saturday.

They will be asked to lay down their arms at some distance from the surrender points, according to informed sources. They added that an extension of the surrender deadline until May 4 was likely.

When she first appealed for the insurgents to surrender, Mrs. Bandaranaike said that the alternative was an all-out military offensive with inevitable bloodshed.

In a speech last week, she said that those who gave up would suffer no violence, but would be rehabilitated and re-integrated into the community.

25 APR 1971

CIA/Ceylon
Bandaranaike, Sirimau

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CEYLON:

Making New Friends

When she was elected Prime Minister of Ceylon last year, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike lost no time in making her political philosophy abundantly clear. The ballots had barely been counted when she trumpeted Ceylon's brotherhood with the Communist world and extended diplomatic recognition to North Korea, North Vietnam, the Viet Cong provisional government and East Germany. Simultaneously, in keeping with her campaign attacks on U.S. "imperialists and their tools," Ceylon's lady leader booted out the Peace Corps and the U.S.-sponsored Asia Foundation and severed

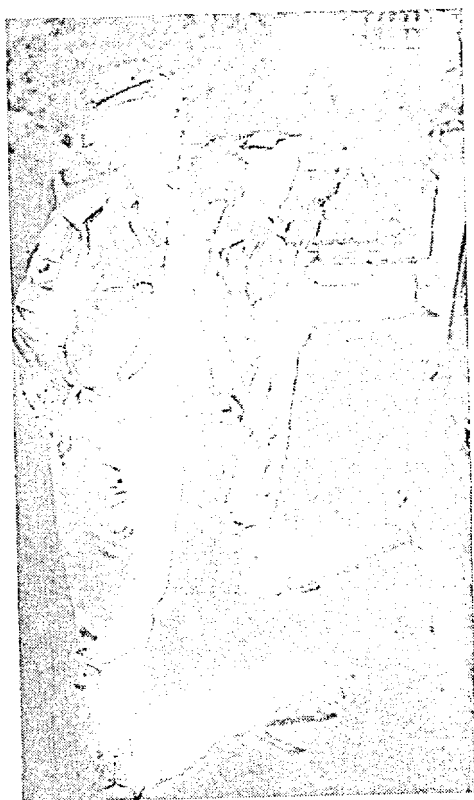
rean Communists, Washington officials nonetheless took a serious view of the Sinhalese uprising. Said one senior U.S. official: "These people have had expert training in guerrilla warfare and someone is providing them with plenty of arms. There's a hell of a lot more here than meets the eye."

Whatever the sponsorship of the rebel movement, moreover, there was no mistaking its goal—the replacement of Mrs. Bandaranaike's government with one even more militantly socialist. For that reason, the U.S. answered Ceylon's plea for assistance by providing helicopter replacement parts and also by the discreetly roundabout sale of six new helicopters to Britain on the understanding that they would be passed along to Ceylon. Meantime, other non-Communist nations also chipped in. India and Pakistan provided additional helicopters and pilots; Britain sent shipments of arms and ammunition, and Indian ships began to patrol Ceylon's territorial waters. And although she saved face by not naming names, Mrs. Bandaranaike gave public thanks "to all our friends who have helped us out."

Control: But neither these additions to Ceylon's arsenal nor the government's urgent callup of reservists to augment its 27,000-man armed forces were enough to enable Mrs. Bandaranaike's government to re-establish full control over the country. At the end of last week Ceylonese Government troops, who have never before engaged in combat, and the rebels, mainly unemployed young Sinhalese college graduates who call themselves the "Che Guevarists," were still engaged in sporadic, bitter fighting. And while most Ceylonese cities, including the capital of Colombo, were relatively calm, much of the countryside remained under the guerrillas' influence, if not their direct control. Indeed, one Western observer in Ceylon maintained last week that the authority of Mrs. Bandaranaike's government had been gravely weakened in all save a few of the country's rural areas. And in seeming support of that thesis, U.S. diplomatic sources estimated that killing had been indiscriminate and thousands of Sinhalese had already died in the fighting.

The agony of the small Indian Ocean island was compounded by the certainty that the rebellion will postpone even further a series of desperately needed reforms. The root cause of the uprising was Ceylon's long-standing economic problems (NEWSWEEK, April 19). One out of seven Sinhalese is unemployed, a sweeping cradle-to-grave welfare system has driven the country close to bankruptcy, the shocking inefficiency of the nationalized industries has created shortages of goods and rising prices—and most of the reforms Mrs. Bandaranaike promised during her election campaign are still unachieved. Worse yet, any hope that this situation will change in the near future is ruled out by the rebels. As one U.S. official put it: "With the guerrillas blending into

the countryside and the government forced to put more and more power into the hands of the army, the goal of a reformed Ceylon looks more distant than ever."



Troops in Colombo: About face!

diplomatic ties with Israel. But last week, with her island nation racked by Communist terrorism, Mrs. Bandaranaike had to make a quick about-face and seek help from the West.

Behind this embarrassing turnabout lay the strong suspicion that the Ceylonese rebellion had been inspired not by the Central Intelligence Agency and other "sinister reactionary forces"—as Mrs. Bandaranaike at first suggested—but rather by Ceylon's North Korean "friends." When the Ceylonese Army and police found North Korean pamphlets on guerrilla warfare among the rebel caches, the government responded by breaking diplomatic relations with North Korea, ordering its embassy closed and its staff expelled. And while American diplomats were not part of the situation, they had, in fact, been instigated by the Ko-

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CIAH-Ceylon

TAMPA, FLA.

TRIBUNE

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M - 161,892

S - 185,885

Curiouser in Ceylon

Those who persist in seeing a single-minded worldwide Communist subversive movement directed by Moscow must find the current situation in Ceylon in the same state as Alice found Wonderland — curiouser and curiouser.

The left-wing government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, a coalition including the Ceylonese Communist Party, is locked in bitter struggle with young revolutionaries. The leader of the rebellion is no CIA stooge, however. Rather, he is Rohana Wijera, an alumnus of Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University, one of the world's leading institutions in the training of guerrilla warriors.

Mrs. Bandaranaike, with a small army, little air force, and a deteriorating economy, is seeking help where she can get it. The U.S. has indirectly chipped in some helicopters and spare parts, although the lady Premier booted out the Peace Corps and some other U.S. agencies as "imperialist tools" after she took office last year. India, Pakistan and Britain are providing military assistance of various types, too.

Given both Wijera's background and his role, and the source

of the first assistance to government forces, it might be expected that Moscow would be behind the apparently liberal flow of small arms to the rebels. Moreover, the Kremlin's propaganda organs should be trumpeting abuse against Mrs. Bandaranaike and her government as "reactionary lackeys of the imperialists" or some such.

But no. From Moscow has come the biggest single commitment to aid the Ceylon government — six MIG-17 fighters, plus crews, to help crush the insurgents.

Clearly, Wijera and whatever ideological kinship he may have with Moscow are being sacrificed for the opportunity to get Soviet Russia an air base foothold in Ceylon. The Kremlin has had designs on filling the big-power vacuum left in the Indian Ocean area by the withdrawal of the British, and apparently deems its chances better by casting its lot with Mrs. Bandaranaike.

What's going on in Ceylon, then, is but another example that even to Communists nationalism outranks ideology — a fact of international politics which explains many of the curiouser conditions across the globe.

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CIA4-Ceylon

Ceylon

Patience, please

The first nine months of each new Ceylonese government is strangely ill-starred. In March, 1965, Mr Senanayake formed a seven-party coalition and called it somewhat grandly a "national government." Yet a few days after the new year, he had to declare an emergency in order to hold back rising Sinhalese agitation against language concessions to the Tamils. That emergency lasted over 1,000 days. Now, nine months after its spectacular election victory, the united front of Mrs Bandaranaike has proclaimed an emergency ostensibly in order to crack down on a band of young insurgents who have been shouting bloody revolution and manufacturing bombs.

Ceylon's young rebels are organised into several bands, representing the full spectrum of prevailing revolutionary ideologies. The best known and organised is the People's Liberation Front, led by a graduate of Moscow's Lumumba University. In the past, revolutionary activities were limited to campus marches and fire-eating speeches or throwing stones at "imperialist" embassies. But recently there have been several explosions and an attack on the American embassy in which a policeman was killed; arms caches have been found and top government officials and public buildings have been threatened.

The left-wing parties in the ruling coalition claim that the liberation front is not left-wing at all but a nascent fascist movement nourished by vested interests who are dismayed at the demoralisation of the opposition. Inevitably the CIA has also been assigned its traditionally sinister role. Although

the prime minister has also accused "reactionary forces" of misleading the young, she has stopped short of branding them as criminals. In a nationwide broadcast she appealed to these "misguided young men" for patience and understanding in the light of the economic crisis which she inherited.

In fact, Ceylon's accelerating economic difficulties may be the real reason behind the imposition of the emergency. The burden of servicing huge debts combined with adverse trade balances have led to an acute foreign exchange crisis. The consequences form the familiar pattern of unemployment, rising prices and consumer shortages. All this has been aggravated by a workers' movement to seize control of factories which has resulted in a 40 per cent drop in industrial production since the government came to power. The government's policy of arbitrary nationalisation has also reduced both production and employment.

The worst hit have been those least prepared to wait stoically for the millennium that many thought would automatically accompany the election of a socialist coalition. These are Ceylon's educated jobless who are disgorged in hundreds of thousands each year by factories of free and compulsory education. The government has announced a crash work programme to absorb 100,000 of the estimated half million unemployed and will create local development councils to take economic growth to the villages. But all this will take time. Meanwhile the economic situation worsens each day.

The government has shown no inclination to intervene in the mounting industrial chaos. This week it decided to deal with opposition protests by abolishing the senate where the opposition has a majority. But it does seem about to take one highly unpopular but economically necessary move. This is to reduce the rice ration to its level under the previous government. Mrs Bandaranaike's pledge last spring to double the ration is thought to have been the key factor in her landslide victory. A cutback now will undoubtedly provoke a strong reaction. This sounds like the real threat the emergency was designed to avert.